28: Tessman--361 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 685

Men are rarely, women somewhat more frequently involved in thefts (in the fields!) Abuse is heaped upon the culprit, who must return the stolen goods, if she still has them. No other reparation is demanded. Lost objects, when found, are returned, and a reward is not customary.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's eldest brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If there is no surviving brother of the deceased man, then his eldest parallel cousin is entitled to inherit the wife (wives). If the deceased man lacks sons of post-puberty age, his eldest brother also inherits his possessions. Otherwise, the eldest son receives these goods. There is a mild feeling that the eldest brother inheriting plural wives, or the eldest son inheriting material possessions, should distribute some of his new wealth to each of his younger brothers as they pass puberty.

Violation of the levirate, the right of a man to marry his deceased younger brother's widow, is a serious and common offense since there is great competition for recent widows. If a man marries a widow without first paying a shotgun to her deceased husband's eldest brother, or to the eldest male parallel cousin if there are no brothers, then the eldest brother or parallel cousin has the right to kill him.

On the other hand, if a brother or parallel cousin of the deceased man takes her away after she has moved into the household of a new husband, the latter has the right to kill the abductor as a wife-stealer. Wife-stealing is a capital offense and leads, as does presumed bewitching, to many of the killings and feuds.

A woman's property is inherited by her eldest daughter. If there is no daughter, the deceased girl's mother inherits the possessions. When there is neither a surviving daughter nor mother, a sister of the deceased girl may have the possessions if she asks for them. Otherwise, the widower keeps the things to give to a future wife.

Offenses involving material property are not common. Stealing, for example, is virtually unheard of with the excep-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

685 727 [674] tion of household looting following the assassination of an enemy. In such cases, the assassins are practicing behavior which is supposed to be reserved for acts of war against non-*untsuri šuarā*. Such behavior is thus in the nature of an additional indignity inflicted upon the victim's household, and is normally considered very bad form within the tribe. Inheritance of property does not always go entirely smoothly, however, because younger siblings may be angered if the eldest does not share some of the inheritance. Since, however, the eldest has the legal right to keep all the parent's possessions, the younger siblings do not have any recourse to any formalized sanctions. They usually just refuse to visit the elder brother.

685 428

562 422 423 A man's property consists of the house he has built, the artifacts that he has made or has received as gifts, the game and fish that he has caught, and the crops (mainly maize) that he has raised. A woman's property likewise consists of the artifacts she has made or received as gifts, wild foods she has gathered, the crops that she is cultivating or has harvested, the section of the garden in which she raises them (if there is another wife), and the pigs and chickens that she raises. A woman may also own a pottery clay deposit if it is near her house and she was its discoverer and excavator.

423 Land, or natural resources, is not owned individually or communally, except in the sense that a specific garden or part of a garden is owned by a woman as long as it is being cultivated, usually no more than about five years. Even in this case, it is the capital improvement of the land that is owned, in the form of the garden, not the land in its natural state. No territorial boundaries are recognized for hunting, fishing,[1] or other purposes on a tribal, neighborhood, or household level except in one type of apparently very rare situation. This was a reported case of two related men living